

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

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AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

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AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4419

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG

SUBJ: CSCE: FOLLOW-UP-LACK OF CONSENSUS FORCES DANES TO PUT OFF
TABLING THEIR FOLLOW-UP REVISION

REF: GENEVA 4308 (NOTAL)

1. DISCUSSIONS AT NATO HEADS OF DELEGATION AND NATO FOLLOW-
UP CAUCUSES LAST TWO DAYS REVEALED CONTINUING DEEP DIVISIONS
ON FOLLOW-UP TACTICS AND STRATEGY, PARTICULARLY AMONG THE
NINE; TO THE EXTENT THAT THE DANISH DELEGATION HAS NOW
DECIDED THAT IT CANNOT, FOR PRESENT, TABLE EVEN THE SLIGHT
REVISIONS IT HAD PROPOSED, TO MAKE FOLLOW-UP PROPOSAL MORE
PALATABLE TO ROMANIANS AND THE NEUTRALS.

2. AS A RESULT, THE WESTERN ALLIES WILL NOW AGAIN
HAVE TO WAIT TO SEE WHETHER, AND TO WHAT EXTENT,
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THE EC-NINE POLITICAL DIRECTORS CAN REACH ANY FURTHER

DECISIONS AT THEIR MEETING JUNE 16. AS A RESULT OF THE CONTINUING REFUSAL, PARTICULARLY BY THE FRENCH, TO PERMIT VIRTUALLY ANY MOVEMENT OR NEW NEGOTIATING DECISIONS ON FOLLOW-UP, THE GENERAL VIEW IS THAT EVEN THEN THE QUESTION MAY HAVE TO BE STILL FURTHER POSTPONED UNTIL THE NEXT EC-NINE MINISTERS MEETING, JUNE 24. GIVEN THE PACE ELSEWHERE IN CSCE THIS MAY OF COURSE BE TOO LATE TO DO ANYTHING BUT RATIFY FRENCH VIEWS AT THAT POINT.

3. A NUMBER OF NATO COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE UK, CANADA, BELGIUM, ITALY, NORWAY, HOLLAND, PORTUGAL, DENMARK AND OTHERS ARE SHOWING MARKED SIGNS OF RESTLESSNESS OVER THIS SITUATION FOR TWO REASONS:

A) FIRST THE NEUTRALS ARE NOW BEGINNING TO LAUNCH STRONG, MORE OR LESS REASONABLE PROTESTS OVER THE FORCED INACTIVITY ON FOLLOW-UP. THEIR CAMPAIGN, WHICH MAY SOON BE CARRIED ON IN PUBLIC, WAS FORMALLY BEGUN AT A COORDINATING COMMITTEE MEETING ON JUNE 12 WHEN YUGOSLAVIA, ROMANIA, SWEDEN, AUSTRIA, FINLAND, SWITZERLAND AND MALTA EXPRESSED THEMSELVES ON THIS POINT, WITH SUPPORT FROM THE WARSAW PACT.

B) SECONDLY, FRENCH TACTICS OF FORCING THE WEST TO LEAVE ALL FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS VIRTUALLY TO THE LAST MINUTES OF STAGE II ARE LIKELY TO CREATE UNNECESSARY, PERHAPS SERIOUS, COORDINATING PROBLEMS, AND MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR THE WEST TO NEGOTIATE AN OPTIMAL SOLUTION.

4. FOR BOTH OF THE ABOVE REASONS THIS SIAUTION IS ALSO GIVING US GROWNING CONCERN, PARTICULARLY SINCE AS LONGSTANDING SUPPORTERS OF THE NINE IN THIS FIELD, WE HAVE TO SHARE THE GROWING CRITICISM FROM THE NEUTRALS, ROMANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA. MOREOVER, FOR SEVERAL OF THESE COUNTRIES AT LEAST SOME MEANINGFUL DISCUSSION OF FOLLOW-UP IS A MAJOR ISSUE--TO THE EXTENT THAT THE PRESENT IMPASSE IS ALREADY LEADING TO THREATS THAT ONE OR THE OTHER MAY PREVENT CONCLUSION OF STAGE II IF DISCUSSION ON FOLLOW-UP CONTINUES TO BE BLOCKED.

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5. ACTION REQUESTED: FOR SEVERAL REASONS, WE BELIEVE THE TIME HAS NOW COME TO ATTEMPT TO MODIFY THE ARTIFICIAL RIGIDITY WHICH HAS BEEN FORCED ON THE ALLIES IN THIS FIELD. SINCE THE EC-NINE POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETING JUNE 16 IS THE LAST CHANCE TO DO SO BEFORE THE MINISTERS MEET JUNE 24, WE BELIEVE THE DEPARTMENT SHOULD GIVE SERIOUS THROUGH TO CONVEYING

THE GIST OF ABOVE CONCERNS TO THE NINE IN WASHINGTON OR
IN CAPITALS BEFORE

JUNE 16. IN DOING SO WE MIGHT POINT OUT:

- A) THAT ALTHOUGH THE POSSIBILITY EXISTS THAT
STAGE II MAY FINISH IN SEVERAL WEEKS, THE FINAL
WORK ON FOLLOW-UP HAS NOT YET BEGUN;
- B) AS ALLIES KNOW WE HAVE FULLY SUPPORTED THE
EC-NINE ON FOLLOW-UP AND WANT TO CONTINUE TO DO
SO. HOWEVER, THIS IS BECOMING HARDER SINCE
WE ARE STILL NOT EVEN CERTAIN OF THE NINE'S
OVERALL NEGOTIATING PLANS FOR THE FINAL STAGES
OF THIS NEGOTIATION, QUOTE APART FROM DETAILS.
SPECIFICALLY WE NEED TO KNOW WHETHER THE NINE
DO OR DO NOT PLAN TO MAKE THE PRESENT DANISH
TEXT THE FINAL WESTERN POSITION OR WHETHER THEY
WILL RECOMMEND NEGOTIATING MARGINS.
- C) WE OURSELVES BELIEVE THAT AN EXCESSIVELY
RIGID POSTURE AT THIS POINT WOULD UNNECESSARILY
FRUSTRATE THE NEUTRALS, ROMANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA,
AND THAT SOME VERY MODEST DEGREE OF
FLEXIBILITY, BOTH ASTO "PREPARATION" AND
"PERIODICITY" IS THEREFORE ADVISABLE (WITHOUT
DEPARTING FROM OUR BASIC POSTURE) TO AVOID
SERIOUS LAST MINUTE CONFRONTATIONS ON THIS
ISSUE.
- D) IN ANY EVENT, IT IS BECOMING CRUCIAL
TO THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE SUPPORT WE CAN
GIVE TO THE NINE TO CONSULT IN DETAIL AND TO
AGREE ON ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS AS SOON
AS POSSIBLE. DALE

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